

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
REGISTRATION FORM

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form* (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the information requested. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

1. Name of Property

historic name Robert E. Lee Monument  
other names/site number VDHR # 127-0181

2. Location

street & number 1700 Monument Avenue (at intersection of Monument & Allen avenues) not for publication N/A  
city or town Richmond vicinity N/A  
state Virginia code VA county Independent City code 760 zip code 23220

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended, I hereby certify that this X nomination      request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property X meets      does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant      nationally X statewide      locally. (     See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of certifying official

Date

Virginia Department of Historic Resources

State or Federal Agency or Tribal government

In my opinion, the property      meets      does not meet the National Register criteria. (     See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of commenting official/Title

Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

4. National Park Service Certification

I, hereby certify that this property is:

     entered in the National Register  
     See continuation sheet.  
     determined eligible for the National Register  
     See continuation sheet.  
     determined not eligible for the National Register  
     removed from the National Register  
     other (explain):                     

Signature of the Keeper   

Date of Action

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## 5. Classification

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Ownership of Property (Check as many boxes as apply)

☐ private  
☐ public-local  
☒ public-State  
☐ public-Federal

Category of Property (Check only one box)

☐ building(s)  
☐ district  
☐ site  
☐ structure  
☒ object

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing	
<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	buildings
<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	sites
<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	structures
<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	objects
<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 1 (listed as a contributing resource in the Monument Avenue HD)

Name of related multiple property listing (Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing.) N/A

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## 6. Function or Use

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Historic Functions (Enter categories from instructions)

Cat: Recreation & Culture Sub: Work of Art (statue)

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Current Functions (Enter categories from instructions)

Cat: Recreation & Culture Sub: Work of Art (statue)

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

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## 7. Description

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Architectural Classification (Enter categories from instructions)

No Style

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Materials (Enter categories from instructions)

foundation Pedestal - granite

roof \_\_\_\_\_

walls \_\_\_\_\_

other Statue - bronze

Narrative Description (Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

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## 8. Statement of Significance

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Applicable National Register Criteria (Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing)

- ☒ A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- ☐ B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- ☒ C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- ☐ D Property has yielded, or is likely to yield information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations (Mark "X" in all the boxes that apply.)

- ☐ A owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- ☐ B removed from its original location.
- ☐ C a birthplace or a grave.
- ☐ D a cemetery.
- ☐ E a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- ☐ F a commemorative property.
- ☐ G less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance (Enter categories from instructions)

Art

Social History

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Period of Significance 1886 - 1890

Significant Dates May 29, 1890

Significant Person (Complete if Criterion B is marked above) \_\_\_\_\_

Cultural Affiliation \_\_\_\_\_

Architect/Builder Sculptor: Marius-Jean-Antonin Mercié; pedestal: Paul Pujol

Narrative Statement of Significance (Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

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## 9. Major Bibliographical References

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(Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets.)

Previous documentation on file (NPS)

- ☐ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
- ☒ previously listed in the National Register
- ☐ previously determined eligible by the National Register
- ☐ designated a National Historic Landmark
- ☐ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # \_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # \_\_\_\_\_

Primary Location of Additional Data  
\_X\_ State Historic Preservation Office  
\_\_\_ Other State agency  
\_\_\_ Federal agency  
\_\_\_ Local government  
\_\_\_ University  
\_\_\_ Other

Name of repository: \_\_\_\_\_

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property Less than one acre

UTM References (Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet)  
Zone Easting Northing  
18 282693 4159159 See continuation sheet.

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet.)  
Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet.)

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Robert A. Carter and Jennifer Murdock  
organization Department of Historic Resources date August 2006  
street & number 2801 Kensington Avenue telephone 804-367-2323  
city or town Richmond state VA zip code 23221

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets  
Maps A USGS map (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.  
A sketch map for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources.  
Photographs Representative black and white photographs of the property.  
Additional items (Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)

Property Owner

(Complete this item at the request of the SHPO or FPO.)  
name Commonwealth of Virginia, Department of General Services, Office of the Director  
street & number 202 N. Ninth Street, Suite 200 telephone 804-786-3311  
city or town Richmond state VA zip code 23219

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470 et seq.). A federal agency may not conduct or sponsor, and a person is not required to respond to a collection of information unless it displays a valid OMB control number.

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 36 hours per response including the time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service, 1849 C St., NW, Washington, DC 20240.

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## 7. Summary Description

A masterpiece of the internationally renowned French academic sculptor Marius Jean Antonin Mercié, raised high on a monumental pedestal designed by the French architect Paul Pujol, the Robert E. Lee Monument is significant as the first of six monuments erected along Monument Avenue between 1890 and 1996. Following a series of campaigns to raise funds, select a site, and commission a design, the Lee monument was finally unveiled on May 29, 1890. The equestrian portrait of General Robert E. Lee astride a horse sits atop a tall granite base. Lee holds the horse's reins in his left hand and his hat rests on his right thigh. The horse's head bobs down in a solemn walk. The bronze sculpture is located atop an elaborate granite pedestal with the east and west sides embellished with four gray marble columns and scrollwork at the north and south ends. Mercié's equestrian statue memorializes Lee's accomplishments as a military hero of national stature as well as regional significance. Placement of the statue was intended to perpetuate the memory of Lee's character as a man of heroic action as well as to herald the emergence of a New South from the adversity of defeat and Reconstruction. The chosen location of the site was also an attempt to create a prestigious and fashionable neighborhood in the previously underdeveloped area west of the City of Richmond.

## Detailed Description

Located at the intersection of Monument Avenue and North Allen Avenue, the Lee Monument is situated in the center of Lee Circle, a large traffic circle which connects two grand boulevards. The bronze equestrian sculpture by Marius Jean Antonin Mercié is twenty-one feet tall. It sits on a granite pedestal forty feet high designed by Paul Pujol, a French architect. The bronze casting of the equestrian statue and memorial plaques was completed by the renowned foundry of Thiébaud Frères, of Paris, France. The pedestal was constructed locally by James Netherwood a sculptor and quarryman. It is reputed that Bohemian born Casper Buberl embellished the north and south ends with carved stonework.

As designed by C. P. E. Burgwyn in 1887, the center of Lee Circle is a round grassy area 200 feet in diameter. At the four compass points the 140 feet wide streets of Monument and Allen meet and create a strong ceremonial approach which allows the monument within to be viewed from all directions. The eastern approach along Monument Avenue allows an uninterrupted view to the statue due to the loss of several trees. Newly planted saplings provide an opportunity to view the monument and surrounding landscape unimpeded. The approach to the monument is much as it would have appeared soon after erection. Traveling west along Monument Avenue the approach is obscured by mature trees which hide the Lee statue until one arrives at the western entrance of the traffic circle.

For the purposes of this nomination the various elevations of the monument are described using the perceived north, but it should be noted that true north lies approximately 45 degrees to the west of this point.

The landscaped grounds for the Lee Monument are encircled by the intersecting avenues of Monument and Allen. Rising from a granite base placed in the center, the lozenge-shaped granite plinth orientated in a north-south direction, with a large granite cap. Surmounting all is the bronze equestrian statue of Lee oriented to the South. The basement or substructure of the granite monument is larger than the pedestal with an inclined surface formed by granite slabs. A second further inclined surface rises from five stylized steps to the lower courses of the pediment. The inclined surfaces inhibit standing on either the base or the pedestal. The slope of these surfaces enhances the impression of rising height. The pedestal is of a classical composition that utilizes the Ionic order as seen in the column capitals, the large volutes, the fasciated entablature, and the dentil cornice. At the base there are six ancillary pedestals, four capped at the north and south ends, with two flat bases existing at the east and west

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elevations. Originally these were intended to furnish a location for future auxiliary statues but were not utilized due to cost constraints. The designed composition was flexible to allow for future work and as a result these bases are almost indecipherable from a distance. The lozenge of the pedestal is divided into two rectangular bronze memorial tablets at the east and west elevations. These tablets are inscribed with the name "LEE" centered within a wreath and placed upon arrows giving it the appearance of a banner vane. Ten five pointed stars surround this device. Two freestanding grey marble columns with Ionic capitals bracket each plaque and divide the body of the pedestal into three parts.

The creation of a tripartite division of the base allows for half cylinders to the north and south. It is at these ends that the pedestal is decoratively embellished. A cartouche at either end is surrounded by Baroque scrollwork featuring graceful unfurled acanthus leaves. The work exhibits strong volutes with festoons of laurel leaves draped on either side of a roaring lion's head. Garlands fall from the upper volutes. All elements of the pedestal are symmetrical in design. The pedestal is capped with large granite torus and scotia moldings forming a stage for the bronze casting and its associated plinth.

At the pinnacle of the monument, Lee sits calmly atop his mount and faces South, holding his hat in his right hand. He is turned slightly to his left and appears to be gazing far into the distance. He is dressed in the correct military garb as befits his rank of General in the Army of the Confederate States of America. A slight gape to the front lapel of his uniform causes his body to be less stoic in appearance and allows for a more humanistic interpretation. The horse, with its bowed head is not a typical interpretation of military might. Rather than rearing and responding to battle, Lee and his horse appear at a walk, patiently surveying the City. It should be noted that the horse is not a representation of Lee's famous mount Traveller. The sculptor did not find the size of the actual horse to be in keeping with the overall composition and therefore created an ideal mount with the necessary requirements. The very stillness of the mounted figure of Lee is an appropriate response to the qualities that were beloved in the man; namely his strength of character, honor and dignity, even in defeat. No allegorical figures are present to compete with the powerful rendering of Lee. For eleven years it had no competition on the Avenue and it remains the culmination of a beautiful composition and urban amenity. The Lee Monument is elegant in its details, rather than elaborate.

According to the news articles of the time the sculpture was exhibited in Paris prior to shipment to Richmond via New York. City engineer and board member Collinson Pierrepont Edwards Burgwyn (C.P.E. Burgwyn) acted as engineer for the project and accompanied the sculpture on its trip from France. He met with Mercié to discuss the reassembly of the statue. Nine separate castings composed the group with the horse being molded in seven pieces (legs in four pieces, the tail, neck, and trunk body) and the rider cast in two. The twenty-one foot high bronze figure arrived in four crates containing horse and rider needing assembly. To the plinth or bronze platform upon which the horse stands the horse's legs were fastened; upon the legs the body of the horse to the body the tail was joined (this work was done from within the body of the horse via a hole at the top); then the body of Lee was riveted in the saddle. The last element was the attachment of the bronze sword to the belt. The many pieces were joined at the ground level with rivets and then hoisted via jacked blocks to adorn the granite pedestal. Mr. George C. Davis was the mechanist responsible for the assembly. Where bolts were driven in to join portions of the statue and then cut an acid mixture was applied to give a uniformity of color to the statue. Just prior to the date of the unveiling two of the marble columns fabricated for the base were discovered to have defects. These were replaced soon after.

In 1893 Burgwyn was asked to report on the condition of the monument. At that time he noted that the base was somewhat discolored with moss growing on portions of it. He found the composition to be structurally sound. At that time the bronze was beginning to weather and to discolor particularly at the joints of the individual pieces. He noted that the granite monument had been constructed of a rubble-stone and Portland cement interior fastened with metal rods run transversely and clamped to the exterior face-block for stability. According to his report the base showed no damage beyond the slight discoloration of the stone.

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At some point after 1969 the wrought iron fencing that once surrounded the grassy section of the circle was removed. No fencing exists today. In 1979, the Monument Avenue Commission initiated an investigation into the conditions of the eleven outdoor bronze monuments within the City in order to assess preservation concerns. The Center for Archaeometry produced a report which noted that the older sculptures were badly weathered and severely pitted by corrosion and other factors. By the late 1980s the City of Richmond began formal investigations into the preservation and care of the bronze monuments. A protective coating was applied at that time. In January, 2004 vandals spray-painted the pedestal of the Lee Statue with the phrases "Death to Nazis" and "Happy Birthday, MLK". The paint was removed within days and is undetectable. As of August 2006, the statue is surrounded by scaffolding as conservators investigate the current condition of the sculpture.

## 8. Statement of Significance

A masterpiece of the internationally renowned French academic sculptor Marius-Jean-Antonin Mercié, raised high on a monumental pedestal designed by the French architect Paul Pujol, the Robert E. Lee Monument is significant as the first and most celebrated of six statues erected and unveiled along Monument Avenue between 1890 and 1996. Mercié's equestrian statue memorializes Lee's standing as a military hero of national stature as well as regional significance. Its design was intended to perpetuate the memory of Lee's character as a man of heroic action, noble in defeat. Following a series of rivalrous campaigns to raise funds, select a site, and commission a design that took almost two decades to play out, the Lee monument was finally unveiled on May 29, 1890 in a carefully orchestrated event that attracted national attention and as many as 150,000 participants. It marked the largest gathering in Virginia's state capital since the inauguration of Jefferson Davis as president of the Confederacy on February 22, 1862. The event unveiled an icon of the cult of the Lost Cause for white Southerners and symbolized the emergence of a New South from the adversity of defeat and Reconstruction. Blazing a path for Monument Avenue's subsequent development as one of America's grandest avenues, while bequeathing a burden of Southern history that has sometimes proved difficult for Richmonders to bear, the Lee Monument remains, in the memorable phrase of Richard Guy Wilson, "an homage by those who lost the American Civil War to their foremost military leader."<sup>1</sup>

## National Register Criteria Statement

The Robert E. Lee Monument is significant at state level and eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places under Criteria A and C:

It meets Criterion A for its close association with major historical developments in the region and the nation in the three decades following the American Civil War—the posthumous history of the changing image of Robert E. Lee in the American mind; the emergence of a New South from the adversity of defeat and Reconstruction; the emergence of the cult of the Lost Cause of the Confederacy; the movement to erect monuments and memorials to the victorious and defeated soldiers of the American Civil War; and the development of Monument Avenue as a cultural landscape of national significance.<sup>2</sup>

It also meets Criterion A for its association with an important historical event—namely, the unveiling and dedication of the Robert E. Lee Monument on May 29, 1890—an event that drew the participation of as many 150,000 people, marked the largest gathering in Virginia's state capital since the inauguration of Jefferson Davis as president of the Confederacy, and represented "one of the greatest celebrations ever accorded a work of public sculpture."<sup>3</sup>

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The monument is also significant under Criterion C by reason of its outstanding artistic quality and design. It is a masterpiece of the internationally renowned French academic sculptor Marius-Jean-Antonin Mercié. Mercié's creation reflects the values of the French academic tradition of sculpture. The process of its design and placement on Monument Avenue reflects the larger cultural values of what Richard Guy Wilson has called the "American Renaissance."<sup>4</sup> The structure preserves an exceptionally high degree of integrity of design, location, materials, workmanship, association, and feeling.

### Historical Context

The project to erect a monument to Robert E. Lee in the City of Richmond originated with the women of the Hollywood Memorial Association, who conceived the idea within hours of Lee's death on October 12, 1870 in Lexington, Virginia. Lee was the first great Confederate to die after the war and his loss was mourned deeply in Virginia and throughout the South. Upon hearing that Lee's family and Lexington friends proposed to bury Lee in the chapel of Washington College and to mark his final resting place with some memorial, the ladies of the Richmond-based Hollywood Memorial Association under the leadership of Sarah Nicholas Randolph moved at once to raise money to erect a monument to Lee in Hollywood Cemetery.<sup>5</sup> Several weeks later, a rival men's organization of former Confederate officers and soldiers under the leadership of General Jubal A. Early, then the senior ranking Confederate soldier in Virginia, also resolved to build a monument in Lee's memory in the former capital of the Confederacy. The men constituted themselves as the Lee Monument Association on November 3, 1870. While both groups eventually became resigned to the wishes of Lee's widow that Lexington remain the final resting place of their greatest hero, they stood united in their conviction that Richmond was the only proper place for a fitting monument to their foremost military leader. "And where shall this monument be reared?" Col C. S. Venable asked rhetorically at the organizational meeting of the Lee Monument Association in Richmond:

...we say, here in Richmond, which was founded by the companions of his knightly ancestors; at Richmond, the objective point of those attacks made with all the accumulated resources of modern warfare, which he repelled for four long years; Richmond, where lie many of the brave soldiers who went gaily to death at his bidding; some, who fell with their last looks upon the spires of her temples; others nursed in their dying hours by the tender hands of her women; and others still who gave their souls to God and their bodies to the enemy at Gettysburg, brought hither by the loving care of the same devoted women."<sup>6</sup> Hollywood Cemetery and Capitol Square near the Washington Monument were the first places mentioned as possible sites for the memorial.<sup>7</sup>

Immediately the two Lee monument groups opened rival campaigns to raise funds, select a site and find a design for a monument to the supreme commander of the Army of Northern Virginia. Both groups hired professional fundraisers. However, the Association failed to prosper under Early's leadership. In 1875, during the administration of Ex-Confederate Governor James Kemper, the limited funds then collected by the Lee Monument Association were placed in the hands of a State Board, consisting of the Governor, State Auditor and Treasurer. The new State Board, over which General Early also presided, assumed the same duties as the Association's old board. Kemper used his influence to widen the campaign's base of support beyond ex-soldiers. The Lee Monument Association staged lectures on Lee's life, passed collection boxes through each audience, trained volunteers to raise money and finally commissioned a print of Lee astride his beloved Traveller, to present to any institution or group that sent them ten dollars. Even after the Virginia Assembly officially confirmed Kemper's action, the Ladies Memorial Association insisted on operating independently in the matter of fundraising and selection of a design. Both groups continued to pursue the goal of erecting a monument in Richmond. The Lee Monument Association sponsored the first competition for a statue in 1877 and invited the cooperation of the women's group. But the contest failed for lack of prize money, a pledge of erection, no announced winner and an inexperienced jury. A second competition sponsored in 1878 by the



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After fifteen years of disappointment and delay, the project finally moved forward under the leadership of newly elected Governor Fitzhugh Lee, a nephew of Robert E. Lee and former Confederate General. In March 1886, the two competing associations were finally merged into one organization called the Lee Monument Commission and placed under Lee's direction as governor.<sup>9</sup> In its first official action, on June 18, 1887, the new Commission chose a site for the monument just outside the western boundary of the City of Richmond. The selected site was the gift of Otway S. Allen, a friend of Governor Lee and a prominent Richmond businessman, who not only offered to donate the land for the monument but also to build two broad intersecting boulevards around the monument and to give them to the City.<sup>10</sup>

Although the Commission left no record of the basis of its decision-- it successively discussed and rejected Libby Hill and Gamble's Hill before selecting the Allen site---contemporary newspaper accounts touted the advantages of the Allen site over these two sites and other sites that had previously brought forward for consideration by various groups—Hollywood Cemetery, Capitol Square, Chimborazo, the Soldier's Home, and Monroe Park. The Richmond press noted that the Allen tract stood on higher ground than Capitol Square, thus providing a direct axis along Franklin Street with Crawford's equestrian statue of George Washington. Some thought the site's broad, open space to the west of downtown was the ideal setting for a larger than life image of Lee, as opposed to the setting of many of the finest monuments in Europe, which had been "ruined by a too close proximity of buildings."<sup>11</sup> Moreover, Allen's donation was a gift that would keep on giving. Supporters of the Allen tract declared that they proposed to make a grand boulevard with room for trees in the middle that would intersect with Reservoir Avenue (today's Boulevard). Dr. J. Williams Jones, who followed Lee to Lexington after service as chaplain to Lee's Army, argued for the Allen site in view of the westward direction of Richmond's population growth and its proximity to the recently established Lee Camp Number One, a home for destitute Confederate veterans, one mile southwest of the proposed Lee Monument Site. Meeting a criterion first set out for the project by Jubal Early in 1870, the Allen site would be nearest to "Lee's boys and their descendants."<sup>12</sup>

At Ordway Allen's direction, Collinson Pierrepont Edwards Burgwyn, the consulting architect for the Lee Memorial Association, laid out the plat for the circle at which the center of the monument would be placed and for the initial development around the monument. The Harvard-trained architect and engineer devised cross-axial boulevards with a 50-foot-wide-median and a circle of 100 feet in radius, at the center of which would be placed the Lee Monument. Burgwyn subdivided the 11-acre parcel into standard Richmond lot sizes of 30' by 150' and lots facing what became Lee Circle divided into more eccentric shapes. He wrote in the deed that "no tree or other object of sufficient size to interfere with the view of the monument shall ever be planted or located or allowed to be upon or above the centerline" of either avenue.<sup>13</sup>

Four months later, the Lee Monument Commission chose the French academic sculptor Marius-Jean-Antonin Mercié to create an equestrian statue of Lee. Three previous competitions, the first two sponsored by the men's group and the third sponsored in Washington D.C. in 1886 by the women's group, had produced either no result or issued in selections of winners and awards of prizes but in no agreement as to whom should receive the commission.<sup>14</sup> Mercié's selection is attributed primarily to the influence of Augustus Saint Gaudens, an American sculptor who served on the jury in the third competition and was a fellow student with Mercié at the Ecole des Beaux Arts and atelier of Joffroy in Paris.<sup>15</sup> The Commission's choice of a foreign sculptor outraged advocates for two native-son candidates—Moses Ezekiel and Edward Valentine who had entered previous competitions and received prizes-- as well as proponents of a more open process of decision making.<sup>16</sup> However, Mercié's international fame, the legitimacy of the Commission's authority, and subsequent reports from France about the beauty of Mercié's work in progress silenced dissenting voices. Sarah Nicholas Randolph, who was appointed by Governor Lee to serve on the Commission and who traveled to Paris several times with Lee's daughter Mary to inspect Mercié's work, expressed the prevailing view that the Commission's goal was to produce a faithful rendering of Lee from life that achieved the highest artistic quality.<sup>17</sup>

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A highly respected academic artist, Marius-Jean-Antonin Mercié had been born in Toulouse in 1845 and studied at NPS Les Ecole des Beaux Arts with the best known teachers of sculpture in France, Joffroy and Falguiere. As a student he won the *Grand Prix de Rome* in 1868. He achieved still greater fame with his statue of the young *David*, first shown in 1872 and later displayed with two other of his works in the Luxembourg Palace. His allegorical group, *Gloria Victis!* received the Medal of Honor of the Salon in 1874 and resulted in a commission to create bas reliefs for a façade of the Louvre. Other notable work of Mercié includes his sculptures for the tomb of King Louis-Phillipe and Queen Amelie in 1886, the stone group of Justice for the Hotel de Ville in Paris, a William Tell in Lausanne Switzerland and a Jeanne D'Arc for Domremy. Mercié took up painting later in life following his appointment as professor at the Ecole des Beaux Arts. He was elected to the Academie Francaise the year after the Lee Monument was unveiled. He was a staunch critic of the Impressionist school of painting. The recent death of Mercié's wife prevented his attendance at the Lee Monument's dedication. Mercié himself died in Paris in 1916.<sup>18</sup>

According to an interview with Mercié, reported in the *Richmond Dispatch* on the day of the monument's dedication, Mercié's first model of Lee, which received only honorable mention in the third competition, sought to represent General Lee "as he passed among his dying troops on the field of Gettysburg—the horse rearing, the dying stretching out for a last affectionate glance of their leader." Mercié said he could not recall in history "an incident in which a defeated general was greeted with such affection and confidence in the very hour of defeat."<sup>19</sup> Under the Commission's direction, Mercié created a second design which made no direct reference to the tragedy at Gettysburg but expressed the essential spirit of his original conception of Lee's strength of character and nobility in defeat. The new design reflected his patron's civic and political aims to erect a statue that complemented the monument to George Washington on Capitol Square. On the order of Archer Anderson acting on behalf of the Lee Commission, Mercié agreed to increase the overall height of the stature so that it would be taller than Richmond's Washington monument. He also consented to his patron's wishes that all four legs of Lee's horse rest on the ground, as they appeared in the familiar image of Lee and Traveller, first published for the Lee Memorial Association in 1876. But Mercié remained adamant that Lee's "noble brow" not be covered and that Lee be shown with his hat in his right hand and his coat collar turned up on one side. For accuracy of detail, the sculptor drew from a death mask of the general's face presented to him by one of the commissioners and from the actual frock, spurs and boots that Lee wore in battle, lent to him by Lee's family.<sup>20</sup> French architect Paul Pujol provided the design for the pedestal. The pedestal's actual carving was carried out in the United States with some of the sculpted features done by Casper Buberl.<sup>21</sup>

The erection of the Lee Monument in Richmond marked a necessary sequence in Richmond's and the South's recovery from the grim brutality, fratricidal loss and sectional division of the American Civil War. As a movement to erect monuments and memorials to the victorious leaders and armies of the Union gained strength in the North, a similar monumentalization of the War took hold in the South.<sup>22</sup> Lee memorial lithographs, which were published in the North and appeared in large numbers after Lee's death, showed that Lee at once became an icon in the South.<sup>23</sup> First in printed images, then in paintings, historical writing and fiction, and finally in the form of public sculpture, his image appealed to both the unreconstructed and the reconciliationists in the South, and then broadened in appeal over time to earn growing respect in the North. Lee's image in war and peace embodied and perpetuated both memories of wartime courage and bravery and hopes for a peaceful civilian life.<sup>24</sup> As Thomas Connelly has observed, Lee appealed strongly to Southerners by offering a "balm to soothe [the psychological trauma and economic hardships of] defeat. Lee's character served as the rebuttal to the American dream, and to the gnawing question of how a righteous cause could lose. Lee would be held up as proof that good men do not always succeed."<sup>25</sup> The Lee cult was closely associated with the cult of the Lost Cause that gained momentum in this same period, which portrayed the Confederacy as a noble effort to preserve the South's heritage and way of life and the constitutional liberties of the Founders. Between 1870 and 1885 the work of biographers, magazine writers and Lee societies transformed Lee into a regional god, "the ultimate demonstration of the superiority of [Southern] civilization."<sup>26</sup> The Lost Cause argument behind the Lee cult stated that any

society which produced a man of such splendid character must be right. It connected secession with the forefathers of the Revolutionary War.

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Sometime after 1885, the image of Lee in the American mind began to change. Advocates for a New South—still Christian but more modern, more progressive, less agrarian, more urban and more industrial than the Old South of romantic memory, found in Lee a model of organizational genius and leadership, who possessed all the necessary elements for success in the emerging world of industrial capitalism.<sup>27</sup> As Lee's image continued to grow to mythic proportions in the South, Lee came to be perceived more generally in the nation less as the archenemy of the United States or foremost military leader of the South and more and more as an American hero, comparable to George Washington, one whose exemplary character, particularly as a civilian after the War, helped bind the nation's wounds and reunite the country. By 1907, the year of Lee's birthday centennial, Americans generally recognized in Lee's image a national hero whose "grandeur of soul" was "finally acknowledged almost everywhere and was accepted almost wholesale by the nation."<sup>28</sup> Although Lee's national reputation did not reach its zenith until after 1900, there were clear signs of the changing cultural shift in attitude toward Lee in the public discourse and ritual actions relating to the Lee Monument's placement and dedication.

At the exercise held in the Virginia House of Delegates following the corner stone laying for the Lee Monument on October 27, 1887, a studied comparison of Lee with Washington pervaded the ceremony, which included a reading of a poem composed especially for the occasion by James Barron Hope, who as a youth pronounced an oration at the Washington Monument's dedication. At the poem's conclusion, Hope matched the two Virginians as twin "rebels" and twin patriots:

When the effigy of Washington  
In its bronze was reared on high,  
Twas mine, with others, now long gone,  
Beneath a stormy sky,  
To utter to the multitude  
His name that cannot die.

And here to-day, my Countrymen  
I tell you Lee shall ride  
With that great "rebel" down the years—  
Twin "rebels" side by side—  
And confronting such a vision  
All our grief gives place to pride.

These two shall ride immortal  
And shall ride abreast of Time;  
Shall light up stately history  
And blaze in Epic Rhyme—  
Both patriots, both Virginians true,  
Both "rebels," both sublime.<sup>29</sup>

The Lee-Washington monument parallel was also evident in the ceremony marking the transportation of the Lee monument through the city to the Lee Circle site on May 5, 1890. When the Washington's equestrian statue arrived in Richmond in 1858, it was placed at the city docks on 17<sup>th</sup> Street upon a great wagon to which horses and mules were attached. When the animals made halting progress in carrying the burden, 500 men and boys took over the ropes and pulled the crated bronze figure along

Main Street and then up the steep hill by 9<sup>th</sup> Street to its site on Capitol Square. This was the same precedent followed on the

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occasion of the removal of the Lee statue from railroad cars on Broad Street in 1890, except that this time ladies and girls joined men and boys in transporting the statue by ropes attached to four wagons—one for each box in which the portions of the statue came from Paris. Between 10,000 and 20,000 Richmonders participated in this ritual, taking turns hauling the Lee Monument to its site. At the end of the day, the ropes were cut into pieces, tied with ribbons and handed out as souvenirs.<sup>30</sup>

Like the corner stone laying with full Masonic honors and the ritual removal of the monument in pieces to its erection on Pujol's pedestal, the Lee Monument was dedicated and unveiled on May 29, 1890 as a carefully organized popular event, which engaged the participation of as many as 150,000 people—a number exceeding the entire population of the City of Richmond at the time. The event began with a grand parade that wound through the city so it would pass Lee's former home on Franklin Street on its way along Main Street before turning through Monroe Park to Lee Circle. At its head as chief marshal stood former Governor and General Fitzhugh Lee. More than forty other Confederate generals either marched along or rode along with governors from the former Confederate states and 15,000 veterans. Pictures of Lee and Washington decorated the streets as hundreds of Confederate and Union flags hung from buildings. Receiving special places of honor in the four-mile parade and on the podium were the widows of Stonewall Jackson and George Pickett.<sup>31</sup>

At the formal dedication and unveiling, Col Archer Anderson, a veteran of Lee's Army, partner with his father in the Tredegar Iron Works, and director of the Lee Monument Commission, struck the key note in declaring that "the monument to George Washington has found its only fitting complement and companion in a monument to Robert Lee." Anderson saw in the image of Lee a great soldier, the ideal commander, "the grandest manifestation in which man can show himself to man." Anderson asserted the righteousness of the Lost Cause and the supremacy of its leadership, attributing its defeat to superior numbers and technology. Seeing in Lee a unique combination of Christian and Old Roman virtues, he found in Lee's military conduct "supreme proof of Lee's greatness of soul as much above depression under reverses as elation in success." Anderson thought Mercié's genius captured in "imperishable bronze" a fleeting moment when Lee's army, as at Sharpsburg, "felt the lofty genius of their leader and recognized their proud privilege to follow and obey...

The General has ridden up, it seems to me, in some pause of battle, to the swelling crest of the front line, and, while the eyes of his soldiers are fastened on him in keen expectancy, but unwavering trust, the great leader—silent and alone with his dread responsibility—is scanning, with calm and penetrating glance, the shifting phases and chances of the stricken field.

Anderson also found in Mercié's image of Lee a model for Southerners to emulate in facing the challenges and opportunities of the New South: a man of action, intelligence, vigor and enterprise who offered, especially at Appomattox and in civilian life, an eloquent example for sectional reconciliation. Lee offered instruction to all Americans, Anderson concluded: Let this monument, then, teach to generations yet unborn these lessons of his life! Let it stand, not as a record of civil strife, but as a perpetual protest against whatever is low and sordid in our public and private objects! Let it stand as a memorial of personal honor that never brooked a stain, of knightly valor without thought of self, of far-reaching military genius unsoiled by ambition, of heroic constancy from which no cloud of misfortune could ever hide the path of duty! Let it stand for reproof and censure, if our people ever sink below the standards of their fathers! Let it stand for patriotic hope and cheer, if a day of national gloom and disaster shall ever dawn upon our country! Let it stand as the embodiment of a brave and virtuous people's ideal leader! Let it stand as a great public act of thanksgiving and praise, for that it pleased Almighty God to bestow upon these Southern States a man so formed to reflect His attributes of power, majesty and goodness!<sup>32</sup>

Not every Richmonder shared Archer's views or felt the same pride in the monument's dedication. John Mitchell, Jr., a black member of City Council and owner of the *Planet* newspaper vehemently protested against the use of city money for the event.

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governors to the bands playing Dixie and the crowds everywhere waving Confederate flags—Mitchell argued, “handed down a legacy of treason and blood” to future generations and put obstacles in the way of national reconciliation and unity.<sup>33</sup> Some Northern newspapers echoed Mitchell’s sentiments. A Philadelphia newspaper compared Lee not to George Washington but to Benedict Arnold. The New York Mail and Express proposed that Congress pass a law banning monuments of Confederate heroes and displays of the Confederate flag. But other Northern newspapers either ignored the event or found nothing objectionable in the proceedings. The editors of the New York Times pronounced Lee as “brave and honorable. . . . Lee’s memory is, therefore, a possession of the American people.”<sup>34</sup> The *Times* editorial adumbrated an opinion that would become the predominant Northern white view of Lee at the beginning of the next century.<sup>35</sup>

Otway S. Allen expected that the Lee Monument and layout by Colonel Burgwyn would hasten development of Monument Avenue as the premier neighborhood for Richmond’s most affluent white citizens. However, the economic depression of the 1890s brought construction almost to a standstill in Richmond. Not until after 1900 were the first trees on Monument Avenue planted, the first city utilities extended to the avenue, and the first house built (1901). Henry James, who visited the monument in 1905, described the statue as “the mere vague center of two or three crossways, without form and void with a circle half sketched by three or four groups of small, new, mean houses.”<sup>36</sup> Yet only two years later, with the erection and unveiling of monuments to two other heroes of the Lost Cause, J.E.B. Stuart and Jefferson Davis, the future character of Monument Avenue’s development and the overwhelming Confederate motif for its outdoor sculptural program became fixed. As the great tribute to Confederate heroes continued, Lee’s shadowed lengthened but the warnings and expressions of discomfort from John Mitchell and other opinion leaders of the black community were largely ignored. The Lee Monument and Ordway Allen’s gift had changed the cultural landscape, if not the mentality of Richmond, forever.<sup>37</sup>

While the image of Lee in the American mind and the meaning of the Lee monument would continue to evolve throughout the ensuing decades, not until the public controversy over placement of the Arthur Ashe statue on Monument Avenue in 1996 would the erection of a Richmond monument capture national attention of such magnitude again.<sup>38</sup>

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**10. Geographical Data**

**Verbal Boundary Description**

The Lee Monument is identified as parcel W0000735055 on the tax parcel maps of Richmond, VA.

**Boundary Justification**

The property being nominated includes the statue on its pedestal and the encircling 200-foot-diameter grassy plot on which the monument stands at the intersection of Monument and Allen avenues.



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The following information is the same for all photographs:

Property: Robert E. Lee Monument

Location: Richmond, VA

Digital photograph copies stored at the Virginia Department of Historic Resources in Richmond, Virginia

Original Historic Photographs stored at the Valentine Museum in Richmond, Virginia

Photo 1 of 4 (Historic Valentine Museum Photo, ca. 1889)

View: Base of the monument, construction

Photo 2 of 4 (Historic Valentine Museum Photo, ca. 1889)

View: Construction of Lee and Traveler portion of monument

Photo 3 of 4 (Historic Valentine Museum Photo, ca. 1890)

View: Unveiling of the monument

Photo 4 of 4

View: South and east elevations of entire monument

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- <sup>1</sup> Quoted in Richard Guy Wilson's "Monument Avenue, Richmond" in Mills, Cynthia, and Pamela H. Simpson, Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2003, p 108.
- <sup>2</sup> Thomas L. Connelly in The Marble Man: Robert E. Lee and His Image in American Society examines the posthumous history of Robert E. Lee's image in detail. New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1977. A good source on the relationship between the cult of the Lost Cause and the emergence of the New South is Gaines M. Foster's Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987. The causes and character of the cult of the Lost Cause is treated at length by Thomas Connelly in The Marble Man and by Connelly and Barbara L. Bellows in God and General Longstreet: the Lost Cause and the Southern Mind. Baton Rouge: The Louisiana State University Press, 1982; and in Charles Osborne's biography of Jubal Early, Jubal: The Life and Times of General Jubal A. Early, CSA, Defender of the Lost Cause. Chapel Hill: Algonquin Books, 1992. The monumentalization of the American Civil War is discussed by Sarah Shield Driggs, Richard Guy Wilson and Robert P. Winthrop in Richmond's Monument Avenue. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001, pp 23-25. The best single volume on Monument Avenue's development as a cultural landscape of national significance is Sarah Shield Driggs, Richard Guy Wilson and Robert P. Winthrop in Richmond's Monument Avenue, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001.
- <sup>3</sup> Quoted in Joseph T Knox, Antonin Mercié, Sculptor of the Lee Monument: The French Academic Tradition in American Public Culture. Richmond: The French Institute, St. Christopher's School, 1990, p 5. Estimates of the attendance at the unveiling and dedication are given in "The Monument to General Robert E. Lee: History of the Movement for its Erection." Southern Historical Society. Its Papers. Richmond. v.17 1889, pp 262-306; and in Driggs et al, Richmond's Monument Avenue, p 54.
- <sup>4</sup> Mercié's place in the French academic tradition is examined in Antonin Mercié Sculptor of the Lee Monument: The French Academic Tradition in American Public Culture. Richmond: The French Institute, St. Christopher's School, 1990. A concise summary of the place of the Lee Monument and Monument Avenue in the cultural movement known as the "American Renaissance" is found in Driggs, et al, Richmond's Monument Avenue, pp 25-27.
- <sup>5</sup> The origins of the Lee Monument project are detailed in "The Monument to General Robert E. Lee: History of the Movement for its Erection." Southern Historical Society. Its Papers. Richmond. v.17 1889, pp 187-190, 206-207; Connelly, Marble Man, pp 42-56; Osborne, Jubal, pp 429-453; Driggs et al Richmond's Monument Avenue, pp 24-25; and Wilson, "Monument Avenue, Richmond," pp 101-103.
- <sup>6</sup> Venable's remarks are quoted in Lee Monument Association, Organization of the Lee Monument Association and the Association of the Army of Northern Virginia, Richmond, Virginia November 3 and 4<sup>th</sup>, 1870, Richmond: J.W. Randolph & English, 1871, p 19.
- <sup>7</sup> Ibid, pp 21, 26, 32.
- <sup>8</sup> The rivalry between the men's and women's groups is discussed in "The Monument to General Robert E. Lee" in Southern Historical Society, pp 194-199; Driggs et al Monument Avenue, pp 39-41; and Osborne, Jubal, pp 441-453;
- <sup>9</sup> The formation and work of the Lee Monument Commission is discussed in "The Monument to General Robert E. Lee" in Southern Historical Society, pp 198-199 and Driggs et al Richmond's Monument Avenue, pp 31-35.
- <sup>10</sup> Otway Allen's offer is discussed in Southern Historical Society, p 202; Driggs et al. Richmond's Monument Avenue, pp 31-33 and Brent Tarter's. "Otway S. Allen: His Gift of Land Changed Richmond Forever." The Richmond Quarterly. Richmond. v. 12, no 14, v. 13, no. 1 (Spring, Summer, Fall 1990), p. 32-34.

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<sup>11</sup> Quotation is from Driggs et al, Richmond's Monument Avenue, p 31. Jones's views are cited in Driggs et al, Richmond's Monument Avenue, p 31. Jones's influence is discussed by Connelly in Marble Man, pp 40-42.

<sup>12</sup> Placing the monument in Richmond near "Lee's boys" was Jubal Early's idea from the beginning: See Lee Monument Association, Organization, p 7.

<sup>13</sup> Deed citation on Burgwyn's plat is quoted in Driggs et al, Richmond's Monument Avenue, p 33

<sup>14</sup> The three competitions are discussed in Driggs et al, Richmond's Monument Avenue, pp 40-42 . and " The Monument to General Robert E. Lee" in Southern Historical Society, pp 196-200.

<sup>15</sup> For St Gaudens' influence on selection of Mercie', see Driggs et al, Richmond's Monument Avenue, p 41-42.

<sup>16</sup> The most outspoken critic of Mercie's selection was Gilbert R. Frith, who protested that Commission had not given any other artist an opportunity to submit a second model and made its selection without public scrutiny. See Gilbert R. Frith, The Three Competitions for a Design for a Monument to Gen. Robert E. Lee, 1877-1887. A Protest and a Review. Richmond, Whittet & Shepperson, 1887.

<sup>17</sup> For Sarah Randolph's influence on the statue's design, see Driggs et al, Richmond's Monument Avenue, p 42-47; and " The Monument to General Robert E. Lee" in Southern Historical Society, pp 196-200.

<sup>18</sup> For brief biographies of Mercie', see Ulrich Troubetzkoy, "The Lee Monument." Virginia Cavalcade. Richmond. v. 11, no. 4 (1962), p. 8-9; Knox, Antonin Mercie' pp 6-12; and Driggs et al, Richmond's Monument Avenue, p .42.

<sup>19</sup> Mercie's interview is cited in Knox, Antonin Mercie', pp 6-7. For a discussion of the problem of Lee's conduct at Gettysburg for Lee hagiographers, see Connelly, Marble Man, pp 83-90.

<sup>20</sup> For more detailed discussion of Lee's personal possessions and death mask lent to Mercie', see Southern Historical Society, pp 198, 200; Driggs et al Richmond's Monument Avenue, pp 42-48; and Knox, Antonin Mercie', pp 5-6.

<sup>21</sup> For details on the design of Pujol's pedestal, see " The Monument to General Robert E. Lee" in Southern Historical Society, pp 201-202; and Driggs et al, Richmond's Monument Avenue, p 48.

<sup>22</sup> For further discussion of the place of the Lee Monument in the larger context of the monumentalization of the War, see Driggs et al, Richmond's Monument Avenue, pp 23-25.

<sup>23</sup> For a detailed discussion of the emergence of Lees' image as an icon in prints, see Mark E. Neely, Jr., Harold Holzer, and Gabor S. Borrit. The Confederate Image: Prints of the Lost Cause. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1987, pp 137-167.

<sup>24</sup> The broad appeal of Lee's image to white Southerners and Northerners is discussed by Neely et al in The Confederate Image, p 143-145.

<sup>25</sup> Quotation from Connelly is cited in Neely et al, The Confederate Image, p 145. For a full discussion of Lee's image in the period 1870-1885, see Connelly, Marble Man, pp 27-98.

<sup>26</sup> Quotation from Connelly is cited in Neely et al, The Confederate Image, p 159. For a full discussion of Lee's image in the period 1870-1885, see Connelly, Marble Man, pp 27-98.

<sup>27</sup> For discussion of the identification of Lee with the challenges and opportunities of the New South, see Peter S. Carmichael, "New South Visionaries: Virginia's Last Generation of Slaveholders, the Gospel of Progress and the Lost Cause," in Gallagher, Gary W., and Alan T. Nolan, eds. The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000, pp 111-112, 121.

<sup>28</sup> Quotation from Connelly is cited in Neely et al, The Confederate Image, p 159 . For a full discussion of Lee's emergence as a national hero, see Connelly, Marble Man, pp 99-122.

<sup>29</sup> Hope's poem, "Memoriae Sacrum," is included in " The Monument to General Robert E. Lee" in Southern Historical Society, pp 209-215.

<sup>30</sup> For a complete account of the incident, see " The Monument to General Robert E. Lee" in Southern Historical Society, pp 248-262. See also Driggs et al, Richmond's Monument Avenue, pp 45-48.

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END NOTES

- <sup>31</sup> For a complete account of the unveiling and dedication, see "The Monument to General Robert E. Lee" in Southern Historical Society, pp 262- 306 . See also Driggs et al, Richmond's Monument Avenue, pp .49-55.
- <sup>32</sup> For the complete text of Anderson's speech, see Archer Anderson, Robert Edward Lee: An Address Delivered at the Dedication of the Monument to General Robert Edward Lee At Richmond, Virginia, May 29, 1890. Richmond: W.E. Jones, Printer, 1890. For specific quotations, see pp 7, 8, 28, 44-45. See also Peter S. Carmichael, "New South Visionaries: Virginia's Last Generation of Slaveholders, the Gospel of Progress and the Lost Cause," in Gallagher, Gary W., and Alan T. Nolan, eds. The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000, pp 111-112, 121.
- <sup>33</sup> Mitchell's dissenting views of the erection and dedication of the Lee Monument are summarized by Brian Black and Bryn Varley in "Contesting the Sacred" in Mills, Cynthia, and Pamela H. Simpson. Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2003, pp 236-238. For Mitchell's view of Lee, see Ann Alexander, Race Man: The Rise and Fall of the "Fighting Editor," John Mitchell, Jr. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002, pp 39, 43, 108, 208.
- <sup>34</sup> Press accounts of the event including the New York Times editorial can be found in Driggs et al, Richmond's Monument Avenue, p 54; and Connelly, Marble Man, p 99.
- <sup>35</sup> For the factors that influenced Northern white opinion after 1900, see Connelly, Marble Man, pp 115-122.
- <sup>36</sup> Henry James reflection on his encounter with the Lee Monument in 1905 is quoted in Driggs et al, Richmond's Monument Avenue, p 55.
- <sup>37</sup> For the influence of the Lee Monument on Monument Avenue's development, see Driggs et al, Richmond's Monument Avenue, pp 35, 38-55; and Tarter, "Otway S. Allen: His Gift of Land Changed Richmond Forever."pp 32-34.
- <sup>38</sup> For the evolving image of Lee after 1907, see Connelly, Marble Man, pp 99-162. For Connelly's effort to separate Lee the man from the myth, see Marble Man, pp 163-219. For a fascinating study of the Arthur Ashe Monument controversy in the context of the Lee Monument's erection on on Monument Avenue, see Brian Black and Bryn Varley, "Contesting the Sacred" in Mills, Cynthia, and Pamela H. Simpson. Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2003, pp 235-250.